and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Be- 159
sides himself, his wife, and six children, the house [592]
is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male
cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children [513]
sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants [352]
sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron
kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are [415]
sometimes used also. The occupants of the house
eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is
situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded
by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio [231]
has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young
rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and 159
grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grand- 177
father, who was a medicine man, came from the 795
Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were bap-
tized in the Catholic faith, although his grand-
father never became a regular church member.
Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. [797]
At the Post he attended the Protestant mission
school until he was 12. During these years he
lived with and worked for the English missionary,
herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was
not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle 159
until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his
little farm at the Post. He then went to Aqui-
dauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's
assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable
farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, tak-
ing his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he re-
turned to the Post to help his grandfather, who
was becoming very old. After his grandfather [591]
died he married and went to live with his father-
in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During
this time he, together with some other Indians,
worked for a while on the telegraph line. In
1932 he and several other Indians went with the
manager of the Post to fight in the revolution,
staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in
the village and began working for the manager
of the Post, doing many things, such as building [465]
repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which
he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not
cultivate land of his own. He has been the cap-
tain of one of the three football teams and the [526]
manager of the sports club where dances are given.

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. 582 595 591 606

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin. 105 177 [847]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [498] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [971] [526]

[P. 37-B]

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party in which both relatives and friends participate. After being married the young couple go to live with the bride's parents, although this rule is no longer adhered to strictly. 177 585 [591]

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered at the house of the dead. Young people were not permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it was believed this could bring death to the young. Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If anything were missing the ghost would return to claim his property. 761 764 [775]

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing the west. This was done in order that the ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman would walk in front of the procession and as he reached the graveyard he would tell the other ghosts about whom they were going to receive. After the body was buried the shaman would be the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to prevent the ghost from returning to the village. 764 [756]

After returning to the village, the relatives often burnt the house in which a deceased adult had lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by changing the doorway of the house. The name of the dead person could not be uttered for several months. Members of the dead person's family would change their names. All this was done in order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from returning to the living relatives. It was believed that if the ghost came back it would take a living relative back to the land of the dead. 768 [551]

The close female relatives of a dead man would remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign of mourning. For a month after death they would wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was supposed to show even more explicit signs of mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted to work or to bathe for many days. In addition, there were regulations which restricted freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had 765 [587]

[Traditional Culture]

177 178 482 562 565 171 [591] [596]

/44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guaná culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

178 555 565 [72] [631] /45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

"Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally, to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form. Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé.-- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

602 /41 cont./
622 When Eciviagatí died about 1925, Nalikí, as his eldest son and the oldest of his brother's sons, became chief of Mureira. Nalikí was therefore already 80 years old then. He had two sons
122 and two daughters. The eldest son is married to a daughter of
591 the chief of Passarinho and lives with his father in Mureira (but
602 in his own hut). The second son is married to a daughter of the chief of Cachoeirinha and also lives with his father in Mureira. The oldest daughter was married to the eldest son of the chief of Lalima and died in childbirth. The second daughter also lives in Lalima; she is married to the second son of the chief there.

622 The order of succession of the Tereno chiefs is the following:
602 1. The oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
2. The oldest among the sons and brother's sons of No. 1 (that is, either the oldest among the chief's son's sons or the son's sons of one of his brothers).
3. The oldest among the chief s sister's sons.
4. The husband of the oldest daughter of the chief.
5. The oldest among the sons of the oldest daughter of the chief.
6. The husband of the oldest daughter of No. 1, that is, of the oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
7. The next oldest brother of the chief.
8. The husband of the oldest among the chief's brother's daughters.
9. The husband of the oldest sister of the chief.
10. The husband of the oldest among the chief's sister s daughters.

/42/ According to what has been said, it seems that one may assume that if the chief has no descendants and siblings, the succession does not fall to the relatives of his wife, but to the oldest brother of his father and his descendants or, if such a one does not exist, to the husband of the oldest sister of his father and his descendants. I could not find out anything about this, however.

The following presentation, in which in any given case the oldest, and thus the legitimate individual to succeed, is always indicated, may serve as an example to clarify the order of succession:

/42 cont./

622 Thus the oldest among the sons and brother's sons usually
602 takes over the succession. If, as in the case of Ečiviagatí, he gives up this succession during the chief's lifetime in order to become the successor of his father-in-law who has been left without male heirs, the next oldest brother or brother's son inherits the rule. It has also occurred that the father-in-law had no male heirs and the father just one. Then the latter, after the death of the two, took over the rule of both villages until his oldest son married and then became chief of one of the two villages, usually the village of his mother's father.

622 The other sons are usually free after their marriage to live in
● 59 the village of the father or of the father-in-law. It is only
602 necessary or desirable that they move to the place of the father-in-law if the latter is without male heirs and they have married his oldest daughter.

622 If a chief, at his death, leaves only minor sons, brother's sons,
429 son's sons, brother's son's sons, and sister's sons, the husband of
602 his oldest daughter or granddaughter, or, when no married daughters or granddaughters are present, the husband of his oldest sister takes over the succession until the marriage of the heir of the deceased chief. Only when no daughter, granddaughter, or sister is married can the next oldest brother rule until the marriage of the heir.

622 The characteristic thing about the order of succession of the
605 Tereno chiefs is in any case the equal position of the chief's sons
602 and his brother's sons as far as the right of the oldest among them to the succession.

/404/

131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
● [591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/407 cont./
585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
585 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[82] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal polyandry*. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[18] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[18] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115] [178] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati ingroup. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the